

MASTER OF ARTS IN NATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS

THE GROWTH IN THE ROLE OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN CUBA: INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL INFLUENCES

Luis Alva-Lieutenant, United States Navy
B.S., United States Naval Academy, 1996

Master of Arts in National Security Affairs-March 2002

Advisors: Harold A. Trinkunas, Department of National Security Affairs
Thomas C. Bruneau, Department of National Security Affairs

Over the last decade the Catholic Church in Cuba has experienced a changing relationship with the Castro regime. The Church, it seems, has been able to find more space within which to operate despite the historically significant decades of repression after the 1959 Revolution. The Papal Visit of 1998 further enhanced this growth of the Church in Cuban society and acted as an accelerator of positive change. This thesis examines Church-State relations in Cuba from an international, domestic, and individual perspective focusing mainly on events leading up to and after the Papal visit.

KEYWORDS: Cuba, Post-Communist Cuba, Pope, Cuba Foreign Relations, U.S. Foreign Policy, Embargo, Sanctions, Catholic Church, Papacy

RUSSIA AND CHINA: THE IMPACT OF REFORM AND THE PROSPECT FOR DEMOCRACY

Leah Amerling-Lieutenant, United States Navy
B.A., University of the South, 1994

Master of Arts in National Security Affairs-March 2002

Advisors: Lyman Miller, Department of National Security Affairs
Donald Abenheim, Department of National Security Affairs

This thesis examines the process of regime transition in Russia and China. Both polities have begun a process of transformation as a result of elite-initiated reforms. The primary difference between attempts at reform in Russia and China has been that of sequence. China began a series of market-based economic reforms in 1978 but it has yet to implement concurrent deliberate reforms in the political sphere. Soviet reform, however, was led by political liberalization after a brief, abortive attempt at economic reform in the mid-1980s. The author analyzes how the differing approaches to reform impact the restructuring of state-society relations in each polity. This thesis defends that the evolutionary nature of China's transition and the slow reconstruction of the state-society structure actuated by market oriented reforms is providing China with a strong foundation on which democracy can later take root. In contrast, Russia's overnight transition to a liberalized regime did not afford its social structure time to evolve. Consequently, Russia's democracy has built upon a social construct that is still structurally communist- politics remain an exclusive arena of the elites and a great schism continues to persist between elites and the masses. As such, democracy in Russia faces structural impediments which significantly impair the ability of democracy to progress. The author concludes that in the long-term prospects for democratic consolidation are greater in China than in Russia.

KEYWORDS: Regime Transition, China, Russia, Political Reform, Economic Reform

NATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS

U.S. MILITARY ARMS SALES TO TAIWAN: DETERRENT OR PROVOCATION?

Kevin Austin Cox, Sr.-Lieutenant, United States Navy

B.S., Southern Illinois University at Carbondale, 1996

Master of Arts in National Security Affairs-March 2002

Advisor: H. Lyman Miller, Department of National Security Affairs

Second Reader: Edward A. Olsen, Department of National Security Affairs

A decision by leaders to initiate or join a civil war is fundamentally a political decision, as is the decision to continue fighting in one. Since the processes by which wars are generally fought are highly influenced by political choices, the United States' decisions to sell military arms to Taiwan have been a major factor in deterring the PRC from attacking the ROC on Taiwan. Thus, the U.S. goal as defined in section 2b of the 1979 Taiwan Relations Act (TRA) of a peaceful resolution of the Taiwan issue may be furthered by significantly increasing the economic, military and political cost of reunification by any means other than a peaceful resolution.

Consequently, in the post-Cold War environment, the U.S.-ROC relationship has changed very little. In spite of the vast amount of weaponry purchased from the U.S., ROC armed forces do not possess the military hardware required to endure a long-term (more than 90 days) military engagement with the PRC without U.S. intervention. Although arms sales have increasingly been used for political purposes, as well as military ones, experience suggests that such sales are no substitute for solid diplomacy and policy-making with friends as well as foes. Finally, the United States has a strong interest in encouraging both sides to re-energize the political and diplomatic aspects of their relationship and de-emphasize the military dimension.

KEYWORDS: China, Taiwan, United States, Arms Sales

PEOPLE'S LIBERATION ARMY NAVY LOOKS TO THE INDIAN OCEAN

Jonathan T. Good-Lieutenant, United States Navy

B.A., University of Pittsburgh, 1993

Master of Arts in National Security Affairs-March 2002

Advisor: H. Lyman Miller, Department of National Security Affairs

Second Reader: Edward A. Olsen, Department of National Security Affairs

This thesis examines the implications of China's security needs for the modernization and role of the People's Liberation Army Navy (PLAN) in the Indian Ocean. The main argument is that the expansion of China into a new maritime area of operation is likely to solidify Beijing's current regional relationships and possibly lead to a naval arms buildup in the Indian Ocean region. Although the 2001 Quadrennial Defense Review does not explicitly name China, its conclusion that a "military competitor with a formidable resource base will emerge" in Asia clearly implies that the United States will have to take into account China's aspirations to become a regional and potentially global maritime power in the 21st century.

KEYWORDS: PLA, Chinese Navy, Indian Ocean, Asia-Pacific Region

SOUTH KOREA'S COMMERCIAL LIBERAL APPROACH TO SECURITY

Cindy Kang-Lieutenant, United States Navy

B.A., University of Washington, 1996

Master of Arts in National Security Affairs-March 2002

Advisors: Edward A. Olsen, Department of National Security Affairs

Gaye Christoffersen, Department of National Security Affairs

This thesis examines South Korea's approach to security based upon the commercial liberalist theory. The primary research question was: can economic interdependence through trade decrease the threat of conflict? The main thrust of the thesis is to analyze the South Koreans' effort to elicit cooperation from its adversaries through economic means. The thesis starts with South Korea's bilateral efforts to induce cooperation first from China and then from North Korea. Next, the thesis examines South Korea's efforts to engage North Korea through a multilateral vehicle such as the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation

(APEC). Then, the thesis examines the Tumen River Area Development Program (TRADP) as an alternative multilateral vehicle to engage the North Koreans. Despite the challenges of multilateral forums, the thesis proposes that the South Koreans should continue to elicit cooperation from the North Koreans through economic means. The thesis is relevant because the U.S. has played a vital role in the security on the Korean peninsula since the end of World War II and decisions made by South Korea regarding security matters affects the U.S. and its interests in the region.

KEYWORDS: Commercial Liberalism, Economic Interdependence, Multilateralism

INTERPRETATIONS OF ARTICLE 5 OF THE NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY, 1949-2002

Kenneth T. Klima-Lieutenant, United States Navy

B.A., Catawba College, 1996

Master of Arts in National Security Affairs-March 2002

Advisors: Donald Abenheim, Department of National Security Affairs

David S. Yost, Department of National Security Affairs

This thesis analyzes various interpretations of Article 5 of the North Atlantic Treaty since 1949. These variations reflect the evolving conceptions of the national security interests of the NATO Allies. Three historical periods are studied: the Cold War, 1949 to 1989; the post-Cold War, 1989 to 10 September 2001; and since 11 September 2001. The collective defense commitment in Article 5 was the foundation principle of the Alliance. During the Cold War, however, interpretations of collective defense necessarily required adaptation to remain relevant. The adaptability constructed during the Cold War yielded to broader concepts of threats and risks in the post-Cold War period. Following the first invocation of Article 5 due to the 11 September 2001 terrorist attacks on the United States, the actions taken by NATO and the individual Allies demonstrate the value of NATO's collective defense principles. The adaptability of Article 5 throughout NATO's history thus far suggests that in the future it will remain a highly valued and integral component of the Alliance's approach to security.

KEYWORDS: NATO, Article 5, North Atlantic Treaty, Washington Treaty, Collective Defense, U.S.-European Relationship

DEEP BLUE – GENESIS AND INITIAL EVOLUTION OF THE NAVY OPERATIONS GROUP

Odin J. Klug-Lieutenant, United States Navy

B.S., United States Naval Academy, 1996

Master of Arts in National Security Affairs-March 2002

and

Thomas A. Murphy-Lieutenant, United States Navy

B.A., Yale University, 1996

Master of Arts in National Security Affairs-March 2002

and

Murzban F. Morris-Lieutenant, United States Navy

B.S., United States Naval Academy, 1995

Master of Arts in National Security Affairs-March 2002

Advisors: Frank Petho, Department of National Security Affairs

Peter Lavoy, Department of National Security Affairs

In this thesis, we describe the Navy Operations Group (Deep Blue) initial development. The attacks of 11 September 2001 prompted the Chief of Naval Operations (via Deep Blue) to tap the Naval Postgraduate School (NPS) for immediately available, sharp junior officers with fleet experience to assist improving naval combat operational methods. Independent Measures of Effectiveness proved Deep Blue was a valuable entity where NPS students played an integral part. To strengthen the Deep Blue-NPS relationship, it was recommended a cadre be developed of innovative students possessing at least 12 months of NPS experience, funded by Deep Blue. A list of Deep Blue projects and their description as well as the Deep Blue Command brief are included as appendices.

NATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS

KEYWORDS: Deep Blue, Navy Operations Group (NOG), Quadrennial Defense Review (QDR), Chief of Naval Operations (CNO), OPNAV, CNO's War Council (CWC), Secretary of Defense (SecDef), Pentagon, 11 September 2001, Operation ENDURING FREEDOM, Operation NOBLE EAGLE, Naval Postgraduate School (NPS)

RUSSIAN STRATEGIC NUCLEAR COMMAND AND CONTROL

Charles D. Lazar, Jr.-Lieutenant, United States Navy

B.S., Southern Illinois University, 1995

Master of Arts in National Security Affairs-March 2002

Advisors: David S. Yost, Department of National Security Affairs

Mikhail Tsypkin, Department of National Security Affairs

This thesis examines the command and control elements of the Russian strategic nuclear forces. It analyzes policy concerning the Soviet and Russian strategic command and control structure, including technical components and operational interfaces of the C³ network from the General Staff command post to the individual launcher. The January 1995 Northern Light incident (also known as the Black Brant XII incident) is examined to test the hypothesis that Russian strategic nuclear command and control arrangements are intact and functioning properly. The thesis concludes that, even though the strategic nuclear forces of the Russian Federation are engaged in a process of reductions and realignment, the C³ system integrity is intact. The Soviet and Russian C³ systems have been designed and upgraded to provide tight centralized positive control over strategic nuclear weapons.

KEYWORDS: Russian Strategic Nuclear Command and Control, Nuclear Command and Control, Nuclear Weapons, Strategic Weapons, Command and Control, C3, C4, C4I, SRF, SNF

THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA DECISION-MAKING PROCESS

Casey J. Miller-Lieutenant, United States Navy

B.A., Ashland University, 1997

Master of Arts in National Security Affairs-March 2002

Advisor: H. Lyman Miller, Department of National Security Affairs

Second Reader: Harold Blanton, Naval War College

This thesis examines the process by which decisions are made in the People's Republic of China (PRC) during times of crisis. It explores who has the authority to make decisions in China today and who will have this authority as new leaders take control of the Politburo in 2002. The thesis also examines the role that the People's Liberation Army plays in national security and foreign policy decision-making during times of crisis.

The April 2001 EP-3 incident is examined to assess high-level decision-making in the Communist Party, the level of military involvement, and the role of the media. This thesis concludes that decisions are made on a consensual basis by a nuclear circle of leaders consisting mainly of Politburo Standing Committee members and a few close advisors to the President. The thesis also concludes that the military plays a smaller role than is often presumed in the decision-making process during times of crisis.

Decision-making in the PRC may be expected to become more decentralized in the future. Although no theoretical or legal framework exists to guide the current process, it is likely that the process will become more efficient and structured over time.

KEYWORDS: PRC, PLA, EP-3 Incident/crisis

**REGIONAL PEACEKEEPING AND THE ARMED FORCES OF THE SOUTHERN CONE:
CURRENT TRENDS AND FUTURE PROSPECTS**

Jose M. Roodettes-Captain, United States Air Force

B.A., Texas A&M University, 1993

Master of Arts in National Security Affairs-March 2002

Advisor: Jeanne K. Giraldo, Department of National Security Affairs

Second Reader: Harold Trinkunas, Department of National Security Affairs

Heavy involvement in international peacekeeping has put a drain on U.S. and U.N. resources and the future ability to field effective U.N. peacekeeping forces is questionable. If Latin American countries were able to support future peacekeeping operations in their region, as they do internationally, this would provide relief to the United Nations and the United States. The purpose of this thesis is to determine what factors influence nations to participate in international peacekeeping and to predict whether participation in international peacekeeping will translate into successful regional peacekeeping. This thesis examines the involvement of Argentina, Brazil, and Chile in Peacekeeping Operations. The thesis begins with a theoretical framework for analyzing peacekeeping participation using three major factors that affect the likelihood of a country's involvement in peacekeeping: 1) civil-military relations, 2) foreign policy objectives, and 3) military budget and resources. Ultimately the thesis provides a model to predict which nations are likely to participate in international and regional peacekeeping missions in the future. The conclusions of this thesis will be valuable to policy makers forecasting and determining the likely composition of a future peacekeeping force in Latin America.

KEYWORDS: Peacekeeping, Latin America, South America, Southern Cone, Argentina, Brazil, Chile

